

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 112980
ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /015 R

66011

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:TNILES

APPROVED BY IO:TBROWN

-----011693 032204Z /70

O 032111Z MAY 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 112980

FOR MAYNES AND BARRY

FOLLOWING REPEAT CAPE TOWN 0885 ACTION SECSTATE, USUN NEW YORK
INFO BONN, GABORONE, DAR ES SALAAM, LAGOS, LONDON, LUSAKA,
MAPUTO, OTTAWA, PARIS AND PRETORIA MAY 02.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L CAPE TOWN 0885

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJ: NAMIBIA: BOTHA MESSAGE TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL

ACTION ADDRESSEES WILL PRESUMABLY BE ADVISED SHORTLY BY BRITISH
OF FOLLOWING MESSAGE ON NAMIBIA SENT TODAY (MAY 2) BY SOUTH
AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL.
INTER ALIA, THE MESSAGE, WHICH WAS SENT IN LIEU OF BOTHA
APPEARANCE BEFORE UNGA, REAFFIRMS SAG ACCEPTANCE OF WESTERN
PROPOSAL, ASSERTS SOUTH AFRICA HAS MET ALL INTERNATIONAL
DEMANDS ON NAMIBIA, REITERATES SAG POSITION ON WALVIS BAY,
AND CALLS FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL WITHOUT
DELAY. WE WOULD EXPECT SAG TO PUBLISH THE MESSAGE PROMPTLY,
PROBABLY TOMORROW (MAY 3).

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 112980

BEGIN TEXT:

1. DURING THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEEN
ENGAGED IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITH A VIEW TO GIVING PRACTICAL
EFFECT TO THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS AND THE EXPRESSED
WISH OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA FOR SELF-
DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE. THROUGHOUT THESE

NEGOTIATIONS SOUTH AFRICA, IN A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION, HAS DONE EVERYTHING IN ITS POWER TO FACILITATE AGREEMENT CONSONANT WITH ITS RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARDS THE PEOPLE AND IN PARTICULAR THE SECURITY OF THE TERRITORY.

2. ON 25 APRIL 1976, OUR DEPUTY PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE IN NEW YORK HANDED YOU A COPY OF A STATEMENT BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY THAT DAY IN WHICH SOUTH AFRICA ACCEPTED THE PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD BY THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

3. FOLLOWING THIS ACCEPTANCE, IN GOOD FAITH, SOUTH AFRICA HAS SCRUPULOUSLY REFRAINED FROM FURTHER COMMENT. WHILE THE FIVE WESTERN POWERS HAVE, IN THEIR CONSIDERED STATEMENTS, FIRMLY ADHERED TO THEIR POSITION REGARDING THE FINALITY OF THE PROPOSALS, A GREAT DEAL HAVE BEEN SAID BY OTHERS ABOUT THE PROPOSALS AND SUGGESTIONS HAVE BEEN FORTHCOMING WHICH WOULD CHANGE THEIR WHOLE BASIS AND CONCEPT.

4. SOME SPEAKERS HAVE ACCUSED SOUTH AFRICA OF INTRANSIGENCE IN SPITE OF OUR ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSALS. WHAT IS IT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WANTS? FOR MAY YEARS THE CLAMOUR HAS BEEN FOR EARLY INDEPENDENCE AND ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE, FREE ELECTIONS ON A TERRITORY-WIDE BASIS UNDER CONDITIONS SATISFACTORY TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 112980

ALL THESE REQUIREMENTS HAVE BEEN MET AND BY ITS ACCEPTANCE SOUTH AFRICA HAD CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED ITS IRREVOCABLE COMMITMENT TO ABSOLUTE INDEPENDENCE FOR SOUTH WEST AFRICA ON THIS VERY BASIS.

5. ON 1 SEPTEMBER LAST YEAR MY GOVERNMENT, WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE FIVE, APPOINTED AN ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL WHOSE TASK IT IS TO CREATE CONDITIONS FOR THE FREE EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE AND TO GOVERN THE TERRITORY IN THE INTERIM PERIOD LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE. IN THE EXECUTION OF THIS TASK HE HAS, INTER ALIA,
--ABOLISHED RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY WHICH MIGHT HAVE HAD AN INHIBITING AFFECT ON FREE POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING,
--COMMENCED WITH THE ABOLITION OF LEGISLATION AND OTHER MEASURES WHICH WERE DISCRIMINATORY ON THE GROUNDS OF COLOR,
--ASSUMED AUTHORITY OVER 26 GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS WHICH WERE FORMERLY UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT,
--AT ALL STAGES INVITED ALL POLITICAL PARTIES - OF WHICH ONLY ONE HAS REFUSED - AND OTHER INTERESTED

GROUPS SUCH AS THE CHURCHES, TO DISCUSS WITH HIM
THEIR VIEWS ON THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY
AND THE WESTERN PROPOSALS,
-- TAKEN STEPS TO ENSURE THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND
ORDER AND TO PREVENT THE DISRUPTION OR OBSTRUCTION
OF THE PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL
DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERRITORY.

6. FOR OVER THIRTY YEARS THE UNITED NATIONS HAS CONCERNED
ITSELF WITH THE QUESTION OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA, A TERRITORY
WHOSE GEOGRAPHIC EXTENT HAS THROUGH THE YEARS BEEN CLEARLY
DEFINED, ALSO IN DOCUMENTS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND
THE UNITED NATIONS ITSELF.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 112980

7. BASED ON TREATIES WHICH ALSO DEFINE THE BORDERS F
OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION THE TERRITORY'S BOUNDARIES
HAVE BEEN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNISED FOR ALMOST A HUNDRED
YEARS. FURTHERMORE, MOST AFRO-ASIAN AND LATIN AMERICAN
COUNTRIES HAVE ACCEPTED THAT COLONIAL BOUNDARIES MUST,
UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW, CONTINUE TO BE THE BOUNDARIES
AFTER INDEPENDENCE. MOREOVER, ARTICLE 11 OF THE MANIFESTO
ON SOUTHERN AFRICA APPROVED BY THE CONFERENCE OF EAST
AND CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES AT LUSAKA, ZAMBIA, ON
16 APRIL 1969 AND ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF
STATE AND GOVERNMENT AT ADDIS ABABA, 6-10 SEPTEMBER 1969,
STATES IN PART: "AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED THE PRESENT
BOUNDARIES OF THE STATES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA ARE THE
BOUNDARIES OF WHAT WILL BE FREE AND INDEPENDENT AFRICAN
STATES.". THIS MANIFESTO WAS SUBSEQUENTLY ADOPTED BY
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ITSELF AS RESOLUTION 2505 (XXIV)
ON 20 NOVEMBER 1969.

8. NO ENTITY CAN CLAIM THE RIGHT TO ADD TO OR TO
DIMINISH THE AREA OF THE FORMER MANDATED TERRITORY
OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

9. UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW SOUTH AFRICA HAS SOVEREIGNTY
OVER WALVIS BAY. WHATEVER ARRANGEMENT MIGHT BE
REACHED BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND A DULY ELECTED GOVERNMENT
OF AN INDEPENDENT SOUTH WEST AFRICA, IS A MATTER FOR
THESE TWO GOVERNMENTS.

10 THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS THE FIVE WESTERN POWERS AGREED
THAT THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER AND THE SAGETY OF
PERSONS AND PROPERTY SHOULD NOT BE JEOPARDIZED. SOUTH
AFRICA ASSUMES THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHARES
THIS CONCERN. THE PROPOSALS OF THE FIVE IN THIS REGARD
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 112980

IS THE RESULT OF TWELVE MONTHS OF SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. THE FINAL PRODUCT IS DELICATELY BALANCED AND CANNOT BE DISTURBED WITHOUT WRECKING THE EDIFICE.

11. SIMILARLY THE TASKS AND DUTIES OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL AND THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ARE BALANCED UPON TWO IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES - ON THE ONE HAND, THAT THE TERRITORY MUST BE ADMINISTERED AND DAILY LIFE MUST CONTINUE WHILE PREPARATIONS FOR FREE ELECTIONS ARE BEING MADE. ON THE OTHER HAND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WISHES TO BE SATISFIED "AT EACH STAGE AS TO THE FAIRNESS AND APPROPRIATENESS OF ALL MEASURES EFFECTING THE POLITICAL PROCESS AT ALL LEVELS OF ADMINISTRATION BEFORE SUCH MEASURES TAKE EFFECT" AND THAT THERE WOULD BE NO INTIMIDATION FROM ANY SIDE. IDEALLY THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL AND THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE SHOULD WORK TOGETHER IN SUCH A WAY AS TO AVOID FRICTION AND DISPUTES.

12. WHILE ALL PROVISIONS OF THE PROPOSALS COULD OBVIOUSLY NOT SATISFY THE PREFERENCE OF EVERY PARTY, SOUTH AFRICA, AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA, BENT OVER BACKWARDS TO BE AS ACCOMMODATING AS POSSIBLE. IT CANNOT GO BEYOND THIS. WE CANNOT ACT IN DEFIANCE OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA HAVE COME TO BELIEVE THAT BY THE END OF 1978 THEY WILL HAVE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY. THE CREDIBILITY, NOT ONLY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT BUT ALSO OF THE UNITED NATIONS IS AT STAKE. SOUTH AFRICA FOR ITS PART WILL NOT GO BACK ON ITS UNDERTAKING TO THE INHABITANTS OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA. IF A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IS TO BE ACHIEVED THERE CANNOT BE ANOTHER PERIOD OF INDECISION. WE ARE NOW WITNESSING THE KILLING AND ABDUCTION OF INNOCENT PEOPLE BY RUGHLESS INDIVIDUALS WHO CLAIM TO BE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VERY PEOPLE THEY MURDER IN COLD BLOOD. NO CIVILIZED

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 112980

COMMUNITY CAN TOLERATE THESE HEINOUS ACTS AND THE INNOCENT VICTIMS ARE DEMANDING THAT THEY SHOULD BE STOPPED.

13. ALL THE ELEMENTS WHICH FORMED THE BASIS OF SO MANY YEARS OF DISPUTE AND ACRIMONY BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED NATIONS CAN NOW BE ELIMINATED. ALL WE ASK IS

THAT THE PEOPLE NOW BE ALLOWED TO ELECT REPRESENTATIVES
ON THE BASIS OF ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE TO DECIDE A CONSTITUTION
FOR THEIR COUNTRY IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE PEACEFULLY
AND UNDER CONDITIONS WHICH WILL ENABLE THE FUTURE
INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY TO MAINTAIN ORDER,
STABILITY AND ECONOMIC WELL-BEING. WHATEVER MIGHT HAVE
BEEN OUR DIFFERENCES IN THE PAST, I APPEAL TO YOU TO URGE
ALL MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO COOPERATE UNRESERVEDLY
IN THIS FINAL PROCESS OF FULFILLING THE NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS
OF THE PEOPLE OF THE TERRITORY. THEY DEMAND IT. WE OWE
IT TO THEM. IT OUGHT TO BE IMPLEMENTED WITHOUT DELAY.
END TEXT. NELSON
UNQUOTE VANCE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SECRETARY GENERAL, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 may 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE112980
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: TNILES
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780189-0429
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780596/aaaaddxh.tel
Line Count: 237
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 172123a5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2800343
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: BOTHA MESSAGE TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL ACTION ADDRESSEES WILL PRESUMABLY BE ADVISED SHORTLY BY BRITISH OF FOLLOWING MESSAGE ON NAMIBIA SENT TODAY (MAY 2)
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA
To: GENEVA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/172123a5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014